LABOR POWER

FORMERLY PUBLISHED AS THE "NEW INDUSTRIAL UNIONIST"

Vol. 1, No. 3, New Series July, 1939

THE TIENTSIN BLOCKADE

W. P. A. PLOUGHED UNDER

COUGHLIN, MOSELEY & CO.—DANGER SIGNS

A LETTER TO LEON TROTSKY

MR. HULL ATTACKS ISOLATION

GOD BLESS THE BUTCHER!

RESOLUTION ON UNION ACTIVITY

ON THE UNION FRONT

SEEING RED

ORGANIZATION NOTES

CORRESPONDENCE

QUESTION BOX

Published at P.O. Box No. 4, Station T, New York *Price 5 Cents*

ORGANIZATION NOTES

WE CHANGE OUR NAME

With this issue the name of this publication is changed to LABOR POWER.

This action was necessitated by an injunction issued by the Supreme Court of the State of New York against the majority of the membership of the Industrial Union Party and in favor of the Brandon-Neuschotz minority clique, prohibiting the majority from using the name Industrial Union Party or calling its official organ the New Industrial Unionist.

The legal technicality upon which the court based its decision was that the majority acted "incorrectly" in calling a convention of the Party to repudiate the unconstitutional conduct of the faithless officers. What the majority should have done, according to the court, was to bring a lawsuit against Brandon to compel him to act in accordance with the Party constitution. That revolutionists do not settle working class internal organizational questions by the use of capitalist courts was of course no concern to the judge who presided, and the decision was based on rules prevailing for ordinary bourgeois disputes.

In the present state of the class struggle we have no other alternative but to accept the decision of the court, reinforced as is it with all the coercive powers of the state. But it is a crowning piece of irony that the Brandon-Neuschotz group, which allegedly is opposed to the tactic of the "united front" in the labor movement, should find it necessary to enter into a "united front" with the capitalist state to attack the organizational integrity of a revolutionary working class party They, who have the effrontery to sneer at other groups as reformist because they help breed illusions among the workers as to the true nature of the "democratic" capitalist government, did not hesitate to appeal to the same anti working class agency to help them appropriate the name of an organization whch had repudiated them.

We have been compelled to change our name, but in doing so we continue undaunted along the path charted by the membership at the convention of April 9th.

Build LABOR POWER the voice of the militant workers!

BRANCH MINNEAPOLIS ACTIVITIES

In Minneapolis we have a thriving branch which can always be depended upon to give a good account of itself in forwarding the work of the organization. The branch is largely the product of the efforts of its indefatigable organizer, Mrs. Wm. Nelson. Comrade Nelson is a veteran De Leonist, who has carried on her work uninterruptedly with unwavering faith, often in the face of seemingly insurmountable difficulties. Her persistent endeavors have been successful in gathering together a functioning group of Marxist-De Leonists in Minneapolis.

For several years past Branch Minneapolis has specialized in carrying on the indispensable work of spreading Marxist working class education among the workers of Minneapolis, at times being the only labor organization in the city engaged in such activities. This year's study class, which commenced in January and met weekly without interruption through June, was one of the most successful in the history of the Branch. The students showed that they were truly interested by attending regularly, their rare absence from sessions occurring only when it was unavoidable.

The class took up and analyzed thoroughly the elementary Marxist classics, "Wage Labor and Capital," "Value, Price and Profit," and "Socialism from Utopia to Science." As a result, the students received a valuable grounding in the basic principles of Marxist economics and sociology. The study of fundamental principles was supplemented by their practical application to the specific problems confronting the American workers. Thus it was impressed on the students that Marxism is not merely a set of academic philosophical abstractions, but that it constitutes a body of knowledge indispensable for working class emancipation. The practical results of the work of the class are reflected in the fact that several students have already signified their intention of joining the Branch and participating actively in the task of building up a real workers' party in Minneapolis.

Branch Minneapolis is thoroughly alive to its organizational responsibilities. It is a regular and liberal financial supporter of the National office and has built up a respectable subscription list and circulation for our official organ. The Branch has just assumed a quota of 40 new subs in the current subscription drive. The membership realizes the importance of the $500 Joint Publication Fund and are doing their share to push this vital fund over the top. A drive for individual contributions is on and the Branch expects to supplement this by running a number of affairs during the summer to swell the proceeds. A. ZIEGLER, *Prov. Nat. Sec.*

LABOR POWER
Published Monthly at
P. O. Box No. 4, Station "T"
NEW YORK, N. Y.

EDITORIAL BOARD
B. Robbins, A. Levine, F. Pierson

Subscription: — Per Year, 50c; Semi-Annually, 25c; Single Copy, 5c.

Composed & Printed by Voluntary Labor

Vol. 1, No. 3, New Series July, 1939

Editorials . . .

MR. HULL ATTACKS ISOLATION

If there were any doubts about the motives of the Roosevelt administration's foreign policy, Mr. Cordell Hull, Secretary of State, attempted to dispel them in a recent well-publicized speech which attacked the policy of isolation. In his official capacity Mr. Hull has to deal with the realities of capitalism, and though on occasion he is given to rhapsodies on democracy and castigations of fascism, he never insists that international conflicts are the result of ideological differences or that the role of the United States in these conflicts is determined by a platonic love for democratic processes. There is always the core of realism in his statements, always the reference to foreign markets, imports and exports, and the conflicts engendered around these matters.

Ostensibly Mr. Hull's statement was a condemnation of isolation on the ground that it is a pathway to totalitarianism in the United States. The Secretary reasons that the small volume of imports into the United States is no indication that this foreign trade is insignificant. Mr. Hull agrees with the isolationists who contend that it would be possible for the United States to manufacture substitutes for tin, manganese and rubber, three products which are not produced commercially in the United States at present. However, contends Mr. Hull, to stop the import of these goods would invite reciprocal action by other nations, which would lead to their stopping imports from America. Surpluses which cannot be sold, abroad would then clutter the home market even more than they do now; profits would disappear; economic chaos would be the outcome. When this state of affairs eventuates, concludes Mr. Hull, the only solution would be government regulation in every sphere of life, leading ultimately to complete regimentation and totalitarianism.

Two things should be noted with respect to the remarks of the Secretary of State: First, the administration's present policy, collective security, is a means by which American capitalism hopes to maintain its markets; second, Mr. Hull shows that even if it were actually possible for the United States to pursue an isolationist policy, that policy would lead to fascism.

On the other hand, the advocates of isolation have shown just as convincingly that the opposite policy, collective security, will lead to totalitarianism. War, which is the inevitable result of collective security in practice will bring with it M-Day, military dictatorship, regimentation and fascism just as surely as Mr. Hull expects isolation to bring them about.

Yes, Mr. Hull is right when he states that isolation will lead to fascism; but so are those who hold that collective security will bring the same result. The apparent contradiction between the two schools of thought is in reality no contradiction at all. The trouble is that both sides think in terms of the existing capitalist system, and whichever way capitalism travels now it must approach nearer and nearer totalitarianism. For that reason Mr. Hull can slay the isolationists, and the isolationists can slay Mr. Hull.

The argument proves one thing: within the framework of capitalist property relations, society is doomed. The alternative to fascism is not to be found in a new kind of foreign policy; the alternative is social revolution. The prop-

ertyless workers who are the victims of all the policies of capitalism, foreign or domestic, will have to act to abolish the cause of fascism: the breakdown of a corrupt economic system based on the exploitation of the many by the few and the insatiable lust for profits resulting in human misery, starvation and degradation.

W.P.A. PLOUGHED UNDER

In his address to Congress requesting relief appropriations for the fiscal year beginning July 1st, President Roosevelt had asked for a sum which was one-third less than the previous year's appropriation. This means that already for months it had been planned by the Administration to fire a million W.P.A. workers, to place five million persons dependent upon these workers for the means of subsistence in danger of destitution and starvation or to give them the doubtful alternative of applying to bankrupt local communities for home relief.

The President's pretext for the reduced appropriation was that he expected an upturn in business to absorb those dismissed from the W.P.A. Even his most ardent supporters failed to see any symptoms of business revival, however, and many of them questioned the wisdom of the projected cut. John L. Lewis, without mentioning that he was addressing the President, demanded that the present enrollment of three million project workers be retained. But Roosevelt remained silent, preferring to continue his double game with the unemployed which has been going on since the 1938 elections, when he began to fire project workers.

In June the appropriation requested by the Administration was passed by Congress by an overwhelming majority. But in addition to the financial cuts, the bill contains among its provisions some of the most vicious attacks on the unemployed that have been made since the crisis began. Not content with laying off a million workers for whom there is no place in private industry, the bill destroys the rule of union standards, one of the hard-won concessions of the unmeployed. In place of a sliding scale of hours, so that the workers would earn the prevailing rates of wages for their respective types of work, a standard 130 hour month is established. Federal Theatre, Art and Writing projects are abolished and the thousands of talented artists and writers who managed to scrape together enough food, clothing and shelter from their work on W.P.A. will be dumped on the market which does not want the cultural contributions which they might make to life.

The Congressmen very frankly expressed their desire to smash the Workers' Alliance, Stalinist-dominated union of the unemployed. Behind this open opposition to the Alliance, however, is the desire to break the morale of the unemployed completely, so that those on relief would hesitate to organize on their own behalf. The Congressmen used the Workers' Alliance as a front for their attack on the unemployed. The bill as it finally passed contains a provision that any worker under the age of 45, on a project for 18 months must be automatically dismissed. Before he may be reinstated his relief status must be thoroughly reinvestigated.

As their reason for including this provision, the "honorable" gentlemen of Congress stated that they want to show the unemployed that the Workers' Alliance cannot guarantee them permanent employment on the W.P.A. and by this device they hope to break the influence of the Alliance. The pretext is so flimsy that it would be laughable were it not so tragic. Certainly the innocuous protestations of loyalty and patriotism made by Dave Lasser and Herbert Benjamin before the Congressional W.P.A. Investigating Committee, as well as the widely publicized social-patriotic line of the Commu-

Capitalist Paradise: "Here is the place to CUT your COSTS of production. . . . North Carolina is the logical location for your plant . . . Industry thrives here under business-minded laws and tax policies . . . Workers, nearly 100 per cent native-born, are friendly, intelligent, ambitious to deliver a day's work. . . ." North Carolina advertises herself as a company union state.

nist Party leave no doubt that the Workers' Alliance is no menace to anyone, least of all to the present Administration. The whole procedure by which the bill was pushed through reflected the awareness of Congress that an attack was being made on the unemployed. The session was more like a gathering of hoodlums than anything else; opposition was shouted down, debate was limited to five minutes; amendments proposed from the floor were not permitted to reach a vote.

What are the unmeployed to do? Their Workers' Alliance leadership, carrying out the Communist Party line, will tell them that it is all a Republican plot, although the Democratic House passed the bill by an overwhelming majority. They will say that it is a plot against Roosevelt and the New Deal, although Roosevelt proposed the cut in W.P.A. appropriations in the first place. With such a venal leadership, the workers can hope for little except more defeats.

The unemployed must wake up to the fact that they can place no faith in Roosevelt or any other capitalist politician. Their only hope is their own independent action in conjunction with the organizations of the employed. There must be organized tremendous protests of all workers, employed and unemployed, against the cut in relief, against Roosevelt's program of starvation, against the self-styled economy chasers who seek to cut expenditures at the expense of the unemployed. Unless the workers do this, there is no bottom to the levels to which their standards will be pushed.

But not even the most militant organization can cope with the economic forces which are steadily wearing capitalism down and bringing it nearer and nearer to complete bankruptcy. If the unemployed carry on their struggles with the idea that any permanent improvement in their status can be achieved they are doomed to disappointment. The real task before them is to do their part in unifying the ranks of labor so that when capitalism cracks, the workers will be able to defeat the inevitable reaction and to go forward to their emancipation from all unemployment, poverty and exploitation.

Don't Forget Papa. Admitting that he was not sure of the exact formula for his success, Elliott Roosevelt, son of the President, declared it was probably "95 per cent. luck and 5 per cent. ability."

THE TIENTSIN BLOCKADE

THE blockade of the British concession area in Tientsin brings the issues in the coming imperialist war to the fore with dramatic clarity. Tientsin was opened to foreign trade by imperialist war in the '60s, when the British and French joined hands in an attack on the Manchu government. Tientsin is the gateway to cotton, wheat and fur regions in North China.

After the invasion of China, the Manchu government signed a "contract" leasing Tientsin to Great Britain for 100 years. Because of the low living standards of the crowded Chinese population which assured a plentiful supply of cheap labor, British capital was soon attracted to Tientsin and a number of modern factories, as well as British-controlled banks, began to flourish in the conquered area. Other countries followed Britain's lead and soon French, Russian, German, Japanese, Italian and American imperialism also had a firm hold on the trading areas and raw materials of China.

Once before this the foreign concessions in Tientsin have been blockaded. In 1900 the Boxers, a sporadic Chinese nationalist movement, besieged the city for a month in the attempt to push all foreign influence out of China. The combined troops of all the imperialist powers finally chased them off. Prostrate before the superior power of the invaders, China had to make still more concessions to foreign demands for increasing influence.

Ostensibly the incident in Tientsin

last month was caused by the refusal of British officials to turn over to the Japanese military authorities four Chinese accused of military crimes. But the Japanese press soon admitted that the real issue was the presence of any foreign concessions in China, i.e., any imperialism save Japan's. Japan is seeking to establish a sort of modified Monroe Doctrine over China—so that she may exercise the exclusive right to exploit the Chinese. The internal pressure of capitalism is driving Japan to expand and she has chosen the territory closest to her, rich in potenialities for exploitation, and one in which the probabilities of success are greatest.

The British Empire, with all its far-flung holdings, does not demand exclusive control of the Chinese market. Together with the United States and France, Great Britain is content to maintain the "Open Door" policy in China. "Let's not be pigs," say the richer imperialists. "There's enough loot in China for all of us."

"You can afford to say that," answer the Japanese looters. "You have land and property in India, in Africa, in North and South America. China doesn't mean as much to you as to us. Get out!"

"Oh, no we don't," comes the British gangsters' reply. "Not with all the money we have invested here and all the rich pickings we take here."

Japan tells the world that she is engaged in a "holy enterprise of building a new order in East Asia." Britain's plea is that together with France and the United States she is engaged in "saving democracy."

The bare truth in that the Tientsin incident there is involved neither a holy enterprise nor the rescuing of democracy. It is a falling out among thieves. The tragedy is that the victims of this imperialist knavery, the working men and women of every country, are being misled by idealistic phrases which hide the sordid motives behind them, into taking sides in favor of one set of robbers against the other.

. . . SEEING RED . . .

The Worker's Friend is the Farmer: "The Napoleon of this counter-attack upon progressive legislation is one Ivan G. McDaniel, counsel to the Agricultural Producers' labor committee, a Los Angeles lobbyist lawyer. If Ivan gets his way, every employee engaged in packing or canning farm products will be deprived of all security in his old age, of the right to join with his fellow men in unions of his own choosing, and the right to work protected by a floor under wages and a ceiling over hours." —Elmer Andrews, Wages and Hours Administrator in a statement directed against the legislative lobby of the Associated Farmers on the West Coast.

Just Pals. "Whatever may be the ideological differences, they do not really count . . . We welcome the co-operation of any country . . ."—Prime Minister Chamberlain inviting other nations to join with Great Britain in a united bloc against the Rome-Berlin axis.

All those who believe that the issue is Democracy versus Fascism please note.

Have You Boys Ever Heard of Imperialism?: "We wonder, however, at the vision of a government that sends ships and armed men half way around the world to protect 58 citizens in Kulangsu at the same time it cannot find money to put hundreds of thousands of unemployed on WPA. Perhaps if our jobless went to Kulangsu the Government would take more interest in them."—From an editorial in the *New York Post*.

British Democracy in Action: For protesting excessive rents imposed by the authorities, British soldiers killed 31 Hindus and wounded 22 in the State of Gangpur, India.

A LETTER TO LEON TROTSKY

IN its early days the Russian Bolshevik Revolution was a symbol of hope and inspiration to the working class throughout the world; it has now become an object of suspicion and aversion. The bureaucracy, under Lenin, began in 1917 to rule *for* the 160 millions of Russian workers and peasants; now under Stalin, it has consolidated its power in order to rule *over* them. Instead of dying away as time passed, the bureaucracy has steadily grown stronger, while the masses who were supposed to take a larger and larger share in ruling their own destinies have found their liberties actually growing less and less. Little wonder then that, outside the Soviet Union, workers are hard put to differentiate between the totalitarianism of Stalin and that of Hitler or Mussolini.

Yet the fact remains that rule by a repressive state power was unfortunately a historical necessity if the Russian revolution was to achieve its task of transforming the backward rural economy which prevailed under Czarism into a progressive industrial nation run by workers skilled in industrial technique and capable of producing a sufficiency of products to meet the needs of the people. It was the function of the Communist Party, aware that the roots of the Dictatorship lay in the backwardness of the Russian economy, to use its control of the State to hasten the development of industry to the end that as the workers mastered the technique of large scale industry, they could gradually take over the administration of their own economy and thus do away with the bureaucracy.

That the Communist Party under Stalin betrayed its trust and turned its efforts towards perpetuating its rule over the workers and peasants is not to be regarded entirely as an accident; degeneracy is inherent in every bureaucracy, as Lenin pointed out, the defeat of the revolutionary proletariat in Western Europe, which caused the Soviet Union to look to its own resources, accelerated the growth of the bureaucracy and the dependence of the workers on their "leaders."

Fortunately for the American workers, the advanced capitalist economy in the United States has long since passed the point where a set of bureaucratic officials could render any useful or necessary service to society. As the Party has time and again pointed out, the American workers can establish a Socialist society immediately, without passing through the stage of Dictatorship which was necessary in Russia, whenever they so will, provided that they organize the Socialist Industrial Unions which will serve as the administrative organs of the new society.

Nothwithstanding the differing material and social conditions here in America from those which existed in Russia in 1917, all the self-styled Leninist organizations in the United States, including the Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party, insist that the Dictatorship of the Proletariat is indispensable for the workers' emancipation. Thus they deliberately court the same peril that destroyed the workers' rule in the Soviet Union.

The general disillusionment that has followed upon the degeneration of the Stalinist regime has compelled the leading Leninist theoretician, Leon Trotsky, to re-examine the whole question of the

---

Nobody Knows What Trouble We Got. "It was Dr. Strecker's thesis that the insanity of the individual represents an effort to escape from reality into a dream world of his own where he can order things to his heart's content, and that the present disordered state of the world similarly represents a psychotic and psychoneurotic state on a wholesale scale, in which the individual becomes the mass man, part of an insane mob that seeks as a unit to 'short circuit reality.' "—From a report of a speech delivered by Professor Strecker, head of the Department of Psychiatry at the University of Pennsylvania, on the present state of our civilization.

---

theoretical basis of the Workers' State. In one form or another, he has made numerous statements from which can be drawn only one conclusion: that where abundance exists, the members of society can rule themselves directly, without the intercession of a state apparatus. But despite this theoretical formulation, Trotsky has refused to change his former position that a Workers' State will be necessary in the United States; and in order to avoid a charge of inconsistency, he predicated this position on an alleged inability of American industry and resources to furnish an abundance for all

More than a year ago, in an attempt to discuss the question on the basis of Trotsky's own formulations, Comrade Abraham Ziegler addressed to him the letter which appears below. To date, no reply or acknowledgment has been received. This is of particular interest because Trotsky rarely if ever passes up an opportunity to prove that his knowledge and understanding of the labor movement are unsurpassed or to expose an opposition correspondent as ignorant or intellectually confused. If he has failed to answer Comrade Ziegler, is it perhaps because to admit himself in error would have embarassed his followers in the United States who have adopted a program well suited, perhaps, to some European country but not to their own?

Whatever the reason for Trotsky's silence, the question itself is of sufficient interest and importance to workers here to warrant serious consideration. There is all the difference between freedom and bondage for the workers in the programs of two working class parties, one of which holds that a Dictatorship must be established with the Party as the "leader" of the working class until some vague future date, and the other of which calls upon the workers to organize their own Socialist Industrial Unions to take over society and run it for themselves. Particularly is the question significant when the economic conditions are such as to make possible the latter course.

THE EDITORS

Send Those Reds Back Where They Came From. A resolution passed by the chiefs of the Seneca Indians has just been sent to Governor Lehman of New York, declaring that the Senecas would no longer permit themselves to be ruled by the laws of the state. The chiefs declared that the Senecas were the descendants of the Iriquois, who established a real democracy centuries before the white men came. "No man or body of men is as well qualified to direct the affairs of our nation as the Council of Chiefs . . ." said the resolution.

Lean Trotsky
Coyoacan, Mexico
Dear Comrade:

The black betrayals of the Stalinist bureaucracy have made increasingly difficult the work of proletarian emancipation. More and more awakening workers are beginning to ask, "If the Russian Bolshevik Revolution and the Workers' State can degenerate into a foul anti-working class regime, what guarantee have we that a proletarian revolution in the United States of America will not follow the same reactionary course?"

This pertinent question brings to the fore the issue of the Dictatorship of the Proletariate, i.e., "a preparatory regime transitional from capitalism to Socialism," as advocated by you and your American political associates. In my opinion your position on this matter is in contradiction to the teachings of Marxist science and constitutes a political program that is fraught with danger and catastrophe for the American proletariat.

The experience of the Soviet Union and the degeneracy of the proletarian dictatorship into a dictatorship of the bureaucracy, under historical conditions which justified and made necessary the existence of a Workers' State, makes it crystal clear that any attempt to institute a like Workers' State here in the United States would constitute an inexcusable usurpation which must inevitably lead to bureaucratic degeneracy equally as revolting as its Soviet prototype.

It would be a work of supererogation on my part to point out to you that the

Marxist concept of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat has its basis in a limited productivity of labor and a backward economic development. In your testimony before the Preliminary Commission of Inquiry, reported in "*The Case of Leon Trotsky*" you graphically illustrated this economic basis:*

Finerty: Whatever may be good in the Socialist state, the bureaucracy is inevitable from the start?

Trotsky: I cannot accept that formula as a Marxist. The first period of a Socialist state is the victory over the bourgeois state. That is the formula of the Marxist—until the time we have reached a state to satisfy freely, as with a table d'hote. The rich people have a table d'hote, wine and jewels. It is not necessary to have a dictatorship when you have a table d'hote. On the contrary, everybody gets the same things, especially the ladies. When the table is poor everybody forgets whether it is a lady or man. He will take a l he can. Then it is necessary to have a dictatorship. The reason for the existence of the gendarmes is the misery of the people. In other words, the economic condition has a basic influence on this question. (P. 306)

And, in answer to a like question from Professor Dewey as to the iron necessity of a dictorship in the early stage of the workers revolution:

Trotsky: In a poor, backward and iso'ated workers' state, yes. To a certain degree, not an absolute measure, but to a certain degree it is a historical necessity.

Implicit here is the recognition that the concept of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat has scientific validity and historical justification only insofar as capitalist development has fallen short of its historical mission of developing and perfecting the means of production. Your latest work, "*The Revolution Betrayed*" inferentially recognizes the correctness of this formula:

A Socialist state even in America, on the basis of the most advanced capitalism, could not immediately provide everyone with as much as he needs, and would therefore be compelled to spur everyone to produce as much as possible. The duty of *stimulator* in these circumstances naturally falls to this state, which in its turn cannot but resort, with various changes and mitigations, to the method of labor payment worked out by capitalism. (P. 53)

In short, you base your support of a Workers' State in the United States, after a successful proletarian revolution, solely on the ground of *alleged* insufficiency in production. Here we have, as you have stated, "the nub of the question." Unfortunately, you fail to favor your readers with your technical authorities in support of your thesis of economic insufficiency in the United States.

After a painstaking examination of the authorities on America's capacity to produce, I fail to find any who support your contention. Quite to the contrary, the authorities are virtually unanimous in holding that, on the basis of existing present-day productive capacity, sufficient can be produced for all.

The outstanding work on America's capacity to produce is the study made by the National Survey of Potential Productive Capacity, under the direction of Harold Loeb. Mr. Stuart Chase, in the preface to Mr. Loeb's exposition, writes that:

If the existing plant and man hours in the United States were fully employed in the production of honest goods and services for the consumer, the total output, valued in 1929 dollars would be not less than 135 billions or an average per family of $4,400. This estimate does not presuppose any considerable change in the physical plant, the introduction of new processes and the modernization of old factories . . . .*

HAVE YOU READ . . .

History of the Russian Revolution—Trotsky....	$2.98
From Lenin to Stalin—Victor Serge.....	.50
What Hitler Wants—Excerpts from Mein Kampf	.25
History of Negro Revolt—C. L. R. James.....	.25
Socialism and War—N. Lenin....	.25
Reform or Revolution—Rosa Luxembourg.....	.25

Send for our list. We handle all books and pamphlets of interest to labor. All opinions. U.S. and foreign.

LABOR PUBLICATIONS — Dept. X
P. O. Box 785 Chicago, Ill.

In the face of the imposing array of authorities, your contention that a workers' state is justified and necessary here in the United States because of economic and productive insufficiency, must necessarily fall to the ground, unless you are prepared to submit equally persuasive authorities.

Inasmuch as the United States does possess a productive capacity sufficient to supply everyone immediately with as much as he needs, and since the American worker is sufficiently advanced culturally "to realize the simple function of an intermediary regulation of distribution," it should be perfectly obvious that we do not need a transition period here in America to build up Socialism.

To advocate the setting up of a political bureaucracy here after a successful proletarian revolution is not only to do violence to the teachings and dictates of Marxian science, but to play into the hands of the class enemy. The revolutionary Socialist movement in the United States has a perfect and highly effective answer to the calumnies of our enemies who would make capital out of the degeneracy of the Stalinist bureaucrats: the American proletariat can institute the Socialist society IMMEDIATELY, without an intervening period of travail and the intervention of a political bureaucratic apparatus. Your position, Comrade Trotsky, with its insistence on a Workers' State, would deprive us of this mighty weapon.

I realize, Comrade Trotsky, that you are an extremely busy man and that your time is fully occupied by matters of the greatest import to you. Yet, I submit that the issue raised by this letter is one of paramount importance for the American proletariat. Moreover, I am confident that you would not deliberately and willfully mislead your reading public on so vital a question for purposes of partisan and factional advantage. Accordingly, I feel justified in calling upon you to meet the weight of the authorities I have submitted and in their light to explain your position that a Workers' State is a necessary social prerequisite for the introduction of a Socialist society in the United States.

You will note that I have made no attempt to deal with the broad question of working class tactics but have confined myself solely to the issue of economic sufficiency in the United States. I have taken this course so as to avoid any confusion.

Fraternally yours,
ABRAHAM ZIEGLER

Brooklyn, May 11, 1938

•

*(Editorial Note: Space considerations compelled the deletion of a number of additional citations from various authorities, all substantiating the writer's contention that the United States can produce an abundance with existing resources and machinery. For the same reason, further testimony by Trotsky on the question of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat was omitted.)

Marx, Engels, Lenin, De Leon et al. Turn in Graves. There is "no difference between Communism and the principles on which the American government was founded." — Herbert Benjamin, Stalinist leader of the Workers Alliance, tetifying before the Congressional W. P. A. Investigating Committee.

GOD BLESS THE BUTCHER!

BY ONE of those curious twists of fate which enlivens the pages of our daily newspapers from time to time, two particularly revealing foreign dispatches were placed in juxtaposition in the columns of the *New York Journal-American*, local Hearst rag, on June 12th.

In one column, under the headline, "Pope Pius Hails Italian Vets From Spain," was reproduced a Vatican City story telling of the welcome given by the new Pope to more than 3,000 returning Italian veterans of the Spanish Civil War. After placing his holy blessing on

the Fascist intervention on the side of General Franco, the Pope addressed Franco's brother-in-law who had accompanied the Italian soldiers. "Welcome, leaders, officers and soldiers of Catholic Spain. My most beloved sons, you bring to the heart of your Father an immense consolation because you have been the defenders of the faith and the civilization of your fatherland."

In the very next column, a cable from Kenneth T. Downs, sent from Perpignan, France, gave a less pretty picture of the "civilization" of Catholic Spain. "150 Slain Daily in Spain Purge" was the heading over this story, which revealed the revolting details of gruesome, blood-thirsty butchery practicised on helpless victims in the guise of punishing criminals in the civil war.

"Blood continues to flow in Spain," writes Mr. Downs. "Executions since the end of the war run well into four figures . . . . The executions take place every day throughout Spain, though the war ended more than two months ago. One hundred and fifty executions daily is generally agreed to be a conservative estimate . . . .

"Officially, these men—and occasional women, it is said—who are being taken daily from prisons to face firing squads, are being shot for having been connected with the crimes of murder or rape during the Republican regime. Unofficially it is admitted that known Reds and anarchists who, it is feared, might represent a potential menace to the new state are likewise being liquidated . . . .

" . . . . Even the most conservative elements, ... are in agreement that the sternest sort of measures must be taken with the recent enemy to keep down discontent in the troublesome condition of the country . . . . The condition of the classes of unemployed former Republicans in many localities, particularly in Catalonia, is perilously near that of starvation. In Barcelona one hears stories of people dying in their homes of hunger."

Of course, the devastation caused by three years of civil war partly accounts for the acute shortage of food, but the heartless manipulation of supplies for political purposes by Franco's officials makes the plight of the Spanish people even more pitiful. Mr. Alfred Cope, director of relief work in Spain for the American Friends Service Committee, a Quaker philanthropic group, reported on his return to the United States on June 8th that milk for babies was being refused in many cases to needy mothers who applied to Franco's Social Auxiliary with prescriptions signed by as many as three or four reputable doctors, but who had no political affiliations.

"In Murcia," Mr. Cope told a reporter for the *New York Herald Tribune*, "we turned over our canteen for 1,000 children to a woman who was the provincial delegate of the Social Auxiliary. We also turned over enough supplies to feed these children for more than a month. All this food had disappeared in ten days' time, and we were being asked for more supplies. We soon found out the food had not gone to the children. Among other things, the Social Auxiliary delegate had sold sugar for as much as seven times its established price."

Mr. Cope, too, testified to the reign of terror being carried out in Spain. In Murcia, he reported, a great many shots were fired in the jail between midnight and two in the morning. In Ciudad Real the Fascist crowded 20,000 Loyalist soldiers into the bull ring and kept them there for twenty days with little

WAS FEVER IS SEEN AS TO DISEASE

"If it were not for the war fever from which the entire world is suffering in these enlightened days," Mr. Schaefer said, "the victory of science over disease would be far nearer accomplishment than now. But instead of eradicating tuberculosis, arthritis, even the age-old malady of malnutrition, the world is exhausting enormous portions of its resources in preparation to destroy itself. It is the new plague, the twentieth century plague, war fever."—Headline and excerpt from an article in the *New York Times*.

food or water. Throughout the whole of Spain, almost half a million are in concentration camps. Mr. Cope stated that he had been compelled to leave Spain because Franco's officials refused to cooperate in the Quakers' attempt to alleviate suffering among the impoverished people. Instead they confiscated six or seven shiploads of food intended for more than 10,000 half-starved Spanish children.

Such are the beatitudes of Franco's fascist "civilization" upon which the Holy Father in Rome placed his blessings in the name of God and religion. But lest anyone believe that Pope Pius XII was the victim of some misunderstanding or ignorance of the kind of people upon whom his blessings were being bestowed, it should be recalled that his predecessor, the late Pius XI, only four years ago placed a similar badge of approval on the bloodthirsty invasion of helpless Catholic Ethiopia by the Italian fascist hordes.

Indeed it was curious that two such contradictory stories should have appeared side by side. But just as strange are the curious thinking habits of millions of people who classify as "holy" and "Christian" a church which throughout its history has ever been the protector of the bloodiest tyrants and oppressors, and which has itself engaged in oppressing and exploiting whenever it had the opportunity.

Not To Be Taken Seriously. A bill introduced into Congress by Representative Osmers of New Jersey requires the President to take command of the armed forces in the field when war is declared. It also specifies that the following be drafted for active combat duty without officer's commissions: the Vice President, members of the Cabinet, all Congressmen voting for war, directors of corporations selling war materials to the United States and foreign nations, bankers loaning money to the United States and foreign nations. Should any of the above claim exemption for physical reasons, the bill provides that they remain in bed for the "duration of the war."

CORRESPONDENCE

To Labor Power:

I think you will be interested to know of a recent discussion which took place in a class at the College of the City of New York.

We had been discussing the pros and cons of progressive education. There were about 15 minutes left to the period. There are three Communist Party sympathizers among the students and, according to these individuals, the instructor is a Communist Party member. From the beginning of the term, through innuendo, selection of bibliography and by direct statement, the class has been fed a diet of Stalinism, Roosevelt uber alles, collective security, praise of the Soviet Union, etc. The only dissident voice in the class is my own.

As our discussion on progressive education was drawing to a close, one of the C. P. sympathizers asked for the floor. She said that she didn't want to discuss progressive education itself, but its leading theoretician, John Dewey. Dewey, she stated, was widely accepted in the press because he was essentially a philosopher. He led the contemplative life, critical of events, but never actively trying to influence the flow of history. She added that Dewey fell into a category similar to that of Norman Thomas, who, she asserted, was the thinker and not the doer. For that reason she claimed that Thomas was acceptable to sections of the upper class, since his threat to them was verbal, not actual.

The instructor agreed with this statement and added that it was "strange" that the press was so "favorable to those who preach Socialism." He advised the students that if they wished to receive loads of publicity all they had to do was to go out and tell people to organize for revolution, that this would be welcomed by the ruling class because they wanted to see people's energies diverted from immediate struggles. A second Comunist sympathizer chimed in with the statement that investigation had shown that the big capitalists contribute money to organizations which want workers to organize for Socialism.

During all this outpouring of Stalinist nonsense, my gorge had been steadily rising with anger and disgust. This last bit of slander was a little too much, and without asking permission and perhaps a bit rudely, I broke in, declaring that in all my experience at college I had never listened to a discussion as dishonest as the one which had just taken place. I demanded that evidence be presented to prove that the capitalist press was friendly to the revolutionary movement, and I challenged the speakers for proof that capitalists had contributed to organizations that were agitating for Socialism.

The instructor was a bit taken aback by my anger, although he should have been prepared for it, because it was not our first clash. He spoke in a friendly tone, trying to soothe me by saying that we shouldn't take these things too seriously, that in spite of our differences we had managed to get along, etc. The girl who had charged that capitalists contributed to revolutionary organizations piped in with her evidence: hadn't it been shown in the Moscow trials that capitalists and fascists supported revolutionary parties? This served to make me still angrier and I shouted out that only members of the Communist Party and their stooges believed the Moscow trials. The period had about 5 minutes still to go but the instructor dismissed us, explaining that the discussion was leading to hard feelings.

Notice the technique of the Moscow trials transferred to the classrooms of City College: John Dewey, Norman Thomas, the advocates of revolution and Socialism, the capitalist class and fascism all combined in one gigantic amalgam in opposition, presumably, to Stalinism, Roosevelt, reformism and "democracy." I don't know how the other members of the class felt, but I came away from that session with the feeling that among all the elements appealing to the working class for support it would be difficult to find any lower, baser or more treacherous than the Stalinists.

Let me congratulate you on the new format and name of LABOR POWER and the bright wide-awake tone of its contents. The time was never more appropriate or the need greater for distribution of a live revolutionary Socialist magazine not only to the working class but to the hundreds of thousands of college and high school students throughout the country who will be the innocent and unsuspecting victims of the coming world war. Keep up the good work!

—STUDENT.

War Profits Before the War. Net profit of the E. I. duPont de Nemours & Co. for the first quarter of 1939 was $19,075,378 as compared to $9,060,602 for the same period in 1938.

Why Not The Sahara Desert? For the past year plans for transporting refugee Jews to British Guiana have been discussed by British politicians. A report by the American Joint Distribution Committee discloses the following about the contemplated gift. "It does not require any extensive investigation to concede readily that British Guiana is not by any means an ideal country for refugees from middle Europe. The drawbacks are obvious and well-known—unfavorable climate and health conditions, largely inferior quality of soil, and great difficulties in solving the problems of maintenance of soil fertility under tropical conditions, lack of transportation facilities, coupled with very serious obstacles in overcoming these difficulties, general ultra-primitive conditions of the interior of the country, at short distances away from the coastline and a variety of other disadvantages."

Some Fun! "One group of horsemen gave me the impression of a rose unfolding, as the bombs dropped in their midst and blew them up. It was exceptionally good fun." Vittorio Mussolini, son of Il Duce, describes an air raid.

QUESTION BOX

QUESTION: On page 2 of the June issue of your paper is mentioned "a Trotskyist pattern for a bureaucratic dictatorship of a political party over the workers."

(a) Where has such a Trotskyist dictatorship occurred?

(b) Where does Trotsky advocate such a "pattern"?

M. D., Bronx

REPLY: (a) No Trotskyist dictatorship has ever existed since at no time did Trotsky's followers ever take power. But our questioner knows that as well as we. His point seems to be; if no Trotskyist dictatorship ever existed, how can it be charged with "bureaucratic" domination of the workers To that we reply that just as a skilled architect does not have to view a completed structure to criticize its plans as hideous, so the political observer does not have to wait for a program to operate before he is able to criticize it. When President Roosevelt proposes a Social Security Act, we are perfectly able to state in advance that under capitalism such a proposal is doomed to failure. Likewise with the Trotskyist Worker's State.

When the Trotskyist organization in this country, the Socialist Workers Party, states in its Declaration of Principles that "the role of the revolutionary party as the leader of the (working) class continues until all forms of class organization, including both the state and all political parties, have disappeared, giving way to the classless socialist society," we are entitled to draw a number of conclusions:

1. That the Trotskyists believe a transition period of Proletarian Dictatorship necessary between the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of Socialism, during which time a bureaucracy will administer the Dictatorship.

2. That if the workers accept their leadership, the Trotskyists will constitute the bureaucracy controlling the state apparatus during the period of transition, and thus assume a position of authority over the workers.

That is the Trotskyist pattern. It is dangerous to the workers because it advocates leaving in the hands of a political minority the conduct of a vast economy which, in this country at least, can be operated by the workers directly through their unions. And the possibility of bureaucratic degeneration of even the most sincere revolutionists is no idle threat, as the rise of Stalinism has shown.

We rarely hear, it has been said, of the combinations of masters; though frequently of those of workmen. But whoever imagines, upon this account, that masters rarely combine, is as ignorant of the world as of the subject. Masters are always and everywhere in a sort of tacit, but constant and uniform combination . . . . We seldom, indeed, hear of this combination, because it is the usual, and one may say the natural state of things which nobody ever hears of.

—ADAM SMITH in *Wealth of Nations*

All the News. The little publicized hearing before the National Labor Relations Board of the *New York Times* for alleged anti-union practices turned on a discussion of the use of labor spies. Edwin L. James, managing editor and special foreign affairs columnist for the *Sunday Times* was asked whether he knew Pearl Bergoff, notorious fink agent. Mr. James reply was, "I never heard of that Russian."

Profits of Misery, The American Express Company was fined 8000 marks by Vienna police for overcharging Jewish immigrants on the price of steamship tickets by adding various kinds of illegal special fees.

ON THE UNION FRONT

THE WORKERS' ARMY

The power of the working class lies in its unions. The stronger the unions, the more successfully the workers can fight against the attacks of the employers on their living standards. Any worker will admit that. Yet if we look about us in the field of labor what do we find? Let us contrast the "army" of the workers, their organized might, with the forces of their enemy, the capitalist class.

The forces of capitalism are many; they include all the agencies of government—the army, police, militia, courts and the legislatures—as well as private company police, chambers of commerce, manufacturers' associations, and labor spies. Yet despite their diversity in appearance and function, they are all united in carrying on their job of suppressing the workers. No one ever finds them sabotaging each other's efforts. The worker's army, however, though it consists only of the unions, is disunited and split, with each faction engaged in fighting the other, instead of burying their differences and presenting a solid front to their opponents.

The capitalist army is organized along the most efficient and scientific lines, thus enabling it to get the most out of its tremendous resources. The regiments of the workers' army, on the other hand, exist in various stages of development as regards organization, ranging from the most inefficient types of craft outfits to some which are nearly perfect structurally, such as the vertical unions of the C.I.O. in the mass production industries. But the advantages of vertical unionism—awakened militancy and consciousness of workers' solidarity—are almost offset by their status as autonomous bodies with no central directing authority to unify their struggles with those of the workers in other industries. This deficiency flows, in turn, from the political backwardness of the union membership, which does not yet realize the true nature of the struggle in which they are engaged with the capitalist class.

In one important respect the workers' army necessarily differs from that of their opponents: in the need for democracy and self-rule of the rank and file. The capitalist army is made up, not of capitalists, but of their paid agents, to whom it is natural to follow orders from above. The working class battalions are composed of the workers themselves; it is their own fate that is to be decided by their action. They need democracy in their ranks, lest they be subjected to the will of those whose interests are opposed to their own. The sad fact is, however, that in a great many unions democracy is most conspicuous by its absence.

The leadership of the respective forces provide another striking contrast. Those who occupy strategic positions of leadership in the capitalist army, police, militia, judiciary, clergy and legislative halls are, almost without exception, to be relied upon to perform their "job" of subduing labor to the best of their ability. But the generals in the army of labor have too often proven labor fakers, who use their strategic positions of influence to live off the backs of the rank and file, and in some cases to sell out to the enemy.

A Knotty Problem For Capitalism: John G. Winant, director of the International Labor Office at Geneva, in a statement issued together with his annual report bemoaned the fact that if the armaments race is stopped by peace, serious unemployment would result, while if the manufacture of armaments were stepped up by war, there would be an acute labor shortage. Now, if the capitalists can figure out how to run a war without workers as cannon fodder there won't be any labor shortage and the problem of unemployment will be on the way to solution.

RESOLUTION ON UNIONISM AND UNION ACTIVITY

WHEREAS, under the capitalist system of production the worker is compelled to debate the price of his wages with the capitalist, and

WHEREAS, the workers instinctively organize on the economic field into unions in order to ward off the constant encroachments of the capitalist class, and

WHEREAS, if the workers failed to unite on the economic field to defend their common interests they would be reduced to the condition of broken wretches past salvation, unfit for the higher goal of Socialism, and

WHEREAS, the class consciousness of the working class is developed through the experiences of the workers in the day-to-day struggles with the capitalist class, and

WHEREAS, the class consciousness of the workers is not at the present time sufficiently developed to make feasible the organization of Socialist Industrial Unions, and

WHEREAS, the existing unions, despite their capitalist philosophy, are working class organs waging in their limited fashion the class struggle against capitalist exploitation, and

WHEREAS, the Socialist Industrial Union will arise out of the concrete experiences of the working class in the course of carrying on the class struggle, and

WHEREAS, the existing unions supply the starting point of such development, Therefore, Be it

RESOLVED, that the Revolutionary Workers Party condemns as utopian the concept that Socialist Industrial Unions will spring into being overnight primarily as a result of abstract education and propaganda; and further condemns as sectarian any attempt to set on foot "ideal" revolutionary unions, in the present state of backward working class consciousness, and, Be it further

RESOLVED, that whenever any bona fide mass revolt of the workers against the evils of existing labor organizations takes place the Revolutionary Workers Party will render all possible support in keeping with the circumstances, and Be it further

RESOLVED, that it is the duty of all members of the Revolutionary Workers Party to join the union of their industry or trade and play a militant and leading role in the day-to-day struggles waged by such unions and to actively participate in the organizational work of such unions either as rank and file members or as officers whenever the opportunity presents itself to do so without sacrifice of working class principle, and Be it further

RESOLVED, that it is the duty of the members of the Revolutionary Workers Party within the unions to endeavor to raise the consciousness of the union membership to the end that the existing unions may be recast into Socialist Industrial Unions.

STALINISTS SUFFER SETBACK IN PAINTERS' UNION

The result of the election for Secretary-Treasurer of New York District Council No. 9 of the Painters Union which was held during the week of June 19th was a defeat for the Stalinist candidate, Morris Gainer, by the candidate of the Progressive group, L. J. Stevens in a close vote. Stevens' victory is the outcome of a long campaign waged against the Stalinist leadership of Louis Weinstock, President of the District Council. The Progressive group ran on a platform calling for democracy in the union, an intensive organizing campaign, elimination of the "kickback" and of other evils permitted to grow under the four years of Stalinist misleadership.

The Progressives also succeeded in capturing five out of nine business agents posts. While Weinstock and his supporters have not been dislodged completely from the union administration, the setback suffered in this election breaks their strangehold on the Painters. The success of this rank and file revolt should serve to encourage the workers of other unions who view the task of overthrowing Communist dictation or labor faker domination as impossible of accomplishment.

COUGHLIN, MOSELEY & CO.—DANGER SIGNS

THE combination political sideshow and arena for unscrupulous attacks on working class rights known as the Dies Committee, in its last few sessions sought to meet the charge that its main activity was red-baiting by turning its attention towards some of the darker by-products of capitalist decadence. Anti-Semitism, which many of us have come to regard as a growth peculiar to Nazi Germany or the other Fascist countries, was revealed as having taken root in "democratic" America, as the chief tactic of several hundred small but well-subsidized pro-Fascist groups.

Dudley Pierrepont Gilbert, a member of the New York "smart set," George Deatherage, organizer of the Knights of the White Camelia, with headquarters in West Virginia, and Major-General George Van Horn Moseley, retired commandant of the Fifth Army Corps, next to Father Coughlin the chief figures in this movement, appeared before the Committee to testify as to their activities.

For the past two years Gilbert has been sending reports to James E. Campbell, a captain in the Army reserve and leader of Kentucky's Veterans of Foreign Wars, purporting to prove the existence of a "Jewish-Communist" conspiracy to overthrow the government, which even involved high Administration officials. Campbell in turn has been circulating these reports to a group of army and navy reserve officers and other "select" citizens. Interestingly enough, the Committee's counsel brought out the fact that the reports, which were supposed to contain predictions of coming events, allegedly obtained by a New York waiter acting as a spy for Gilbert, actually were written after the events had been reported in the daily press and were public knowledge.

Deatherage, another ranting fanatic, and also a friend of Campbell, has been distributing anti-Semitic literature printed in Germany, in addition to all the home-made filth upon which he could lay his hands. Deatherage's candidate for leader of the American Fascists is Major-General Moseley, retired, who spends most of his time traveling around the country making violent anti-Jewish and anti-Roosevelt speeches. It is said that behind his attacks on Roosevelt is a hatred born of the frustration of his desire to be appointed Chief of Staff of the Army before his retirement.

Appearing before the Dies Committee, Moseley told of having been approached on a number of occasions with the request to establish a "little General Headquarters" to co-ordinate the activities of groups fighting the "Communist menace." Moseley stated that the Jews "maintain a state within a state," in that they pay allegiance to "international Jewry,"

and that they spend their time fomenting wars and revolutions. At the height of his frenzy the General urged that Jews be denied all civil rights, including "office holding, suffrage and all other citizenship rights in the American republic."

The only one needed to complete the array of Fascist white hopes was the No. 1 Fascist of America, Father Coughlin, whose Nazi-inspired writings in *Social Justice* and whose verbal falsehoods over the radio have inspired his Catholic followers to frequent and violent anti-Semitic outbursts. The Dies Committee adjourned its sessions before it got around to asking the good Father how come several of his choicest articles were plagiarized practically word for word from the speeches of leading Nazis.

Right before the eyes of the American working class we see growing up the seeds of the future Fascist organizations, supported by wealthy individuals and graced with the names of major-generals and priests. It will not do for workers to shrug their shoulders and say that these groups are small, that they do not represent real public opinion, and consequently that they need not be feared. It is precisely this mistaken attitude which spells disaster, as the German workers learned to their sorrow.

Hitler was once an obscure leader of an insignificant band—remember the Munich beer-hall putsch? But the troubles of German capitalism mounted, and the bankrupt, dying profit system in Germany proved to be very nourishing soil for the Nazi movement.

Messrs. Gilbert, Deatherage, Moseley and Coughlin are warning symbols to the American working class. They are spreading the seeds of Fascism in the United States; years of depression, years of sharply reduced profits for large sections of the capitalist class and of demoralizing subsistence on charity for large sections of the working class have created a fertile soil in which the Fascist seeds have taken root. And with Roosevelt's New Deal having run the gamut of reforms from A to Z without making a dent in the ranks of the 12 millions still unemployed, it is no wonder that here and there would-be saviors of capitalism are lending sympathetic ears to the ravings of the budding Fascists.

With the continued crisis of American capitalism it is inevitable that Fascism will gain more and more adherents from those who fear that the action of the working class will put an end to their ownership of property or their power to exploit workers. Waving the babaric banner of anti-Semitism these elements will attempt to divide the ranks of the workers and render them helpless before the onslaughts of reaction. And in the end if the American workers have failed to profit by the bitter experiences of their unfortunate brothers throughout the world, they too will fall victim to the scourge.

Workers, we must not wait for Fascism to destroy us! The time for action is getting shorter as economic conditions go from bad to worse. Now is the time to begin to fortify the first and most important line of workers' defense—the unions. Unity between the C.I.O. and the A.F.L., the existing workers' organizations, must be achieved and the union bureaucrats, the professional labor fakers and employers' lickspittles must be driven from the strategic positions they occupy today. The union must be made a class conscious weapon of the working class.

Unless we accomplish these minimum tasks, unless the workers begin at once to organize their forces for the coming struggle with the capitalist reaction, the slimy purveyors of anti-unionism, of anti-Semitism, of Fascism will succeed in making the social nightmare they advocate a reality.

But society does not stand still. It is the bankruptcy of capitalism which is making the issue Socialism versus Fascism. We can either go forward to a new world in which the causes of our social ills have been abolished by the workers taking control of and operating the means of production for the benefit of all, or we can go backward to an era of Fascist slavery. With this alternative before us, the workers must act quickly if they are to avert the reaction and save themselves as well as all of society for progress.

Yes, the army of the working class is severely handicapped: it is composed of impoverished wage slaves; it is split into opposing groups; many of its regiments are organized according to outmoded methods; it upholds "autonomy" in place of "solidarity"; its membership is often discouraged or disgusted by the domination of fakers and traitors; and it is engaged in a struggle, the immensity of which is unrecognized by those who are doing the fighting.

Because it is opposed to a ruling class which can and does employ all the resources of the government in addition to the aid rendered by all the institutions of society, the proletarian army will continue to fight a losing battle until the day of its final victory. But that day will come. As the lessons of their daily struggles compel the workers to become more and more aware that their problems are impossible of solution so long as the capitalist class and its ownership of the means of production stand in the way, they will begin to rebuild their union, get rid of its weaknesses and prepare for the decisive battle. They will perfect the structure of their union to conform to the requirements of the age, by scrapping the craft unions and replacing them with integral industrial unions taking in all workers from top to bottom. They will drive out the misleaders and institute rank and file control. They will march forward under the banner of the "Abolition of Poverty" and the establishment of a workers' world!

You'll Get Pie in the Sky Plus $30 *Every Thursday When You Die!* "Senior Citizens: You need a daily paper! You need a daily paper that goes to the people of the West with the message of Ham and Eggs—the message of social security for the aged and job security for the people. You need a paper that tells YOUR side of the story. That paper is the daily *People's World!*" —Huge display advertisement in the official organ of the Communist Party of California.

But the union is a permanent army of the workers. Its battalions will develop into one mighty industrial union, which, in the Industrial Republic of Labor, will constitute the administrative agency to regulate production and distribution of society's products. "On the Union Front" will attempt to record, month by month, the progress of labor's army toward its goal . . . . All workers are invited to write in news of union activities and struggles for publication. All material which is of general interest will be used.

•

BOSSES BEGIN LEGAL DRIVE AGAINST UNIONS

Tom Girdler's Republic Steel Corporation has filed a $7,500,000 damage suit against the Steel Workers Organizing Committee, the C.I.O., John L. Lewis, Phillip Murray and others as a result of the Little Steel strike of 1937. Coming as it does on the heels of the $711,932 judgment obtained by the Apex Hosiery Co. in Philadelphia Federal District Court against the American Federation of Hosiery Workers, it is plain that the big industrialists are planing a wholesale attempt to smash labor unions by crippling them financially.

The decision against the hosiery workers in the Apex case was based on the Sherman Anti-Trust Law, forbidding combinations in restraint of trade. Hitherto understood to be applicable only to combinations of employers seeking to form a monopoly in order to regulate prices, this ancient law is now applied against workers for the first time. It is not the first time the courts have acted as agents of the employers in beating down working class militancy, however.

Girdler's suit against the steel workers is a piece of consummate irony . . . . it was at the Republic Steel Corporation's plant in South Chicago that the massacre of striking steel hands took place on Memorial Day, 1937.

DON'T FORGET THE SUBSCRIPTION DRIVE FOR "LABOR POWER"

THE IMPORTANCE OF BUILDING "LABOR POWER"

In these days when the forces of Fascist reaction are becoming increasingly aggressive in attacking the labor movement and are boldly proclaiming their real objectives, the importance of building up LABOR POWER, the organ of revolutionary Marxism in the United States, cannot be too strongly stressed. LABOR POWER, giving concrete expression to the principles of Marxist knowledge and class conscious economic organization, is the specific antidote to the poisonous virus of Fascist reaction. How effective LABOR POWER is to be in combatting the spread of this social plague depends upon its readers and the assistance they are prepared to render in building up its circulation and increasing its influence among the awakening workers of America.

There are three simple ways in which every reader can cooperate in building up the influence of LABOR POWER.

1. Become a subscriber. Get others to subscribe. Subscription rates are modest enough. Fifty cents for one year; twenty-five cents for six months. Subscribe now, don't put it off any longer. Get your shopmate, neighbor, etc., to subscribe. Remember, every worker that you come into contact with is a prospect for a subscription.

2. Order a bundle on consignment (no charge for copies you do not sell). Sell single copies to your shopmates at union meetings and labor meetings generally. Where you can't sell, distribute sample copies. Once known, the paper will sell itself.

3. Place LABOR POWER on newsstands and in labor book shops. In every city there are certian newsstands and book shops specializing in radical papers. Get a list of these and send in for a newsstand bundle order on consignment, and then see to it that these stands are supplied. You will be surprised at the manner in which newsstand and book shop sales mount up!

Fellow workers:—Here we have a concrete way of fighting the insidious menace of Fascism which is slowly creeping up on us. Fall in! Send in your subs and bundle orders!

SUB DRIVE EXTENDED!

The subscription drive has been extended. Members are urged to rush in their subs and fill their quotas!

$500 JOINT PUBLICATION FUND

Contributions are coming in slowly, much too slowly. Several pledges are still outstanding. Comrades, pay up and make additional pledges. Acknowledgements will appear in the next issue.

Send orders and remittances to Business Manager, LABOR POWER, *P. O. Box 4, Station T, New York, N. Y.*